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ABSTRACT

This study tested the learned helplessness theory, stress theory, and a modified stress theory to determine the best model for predicting the probability that a woman would seek help when she experienced severe violence from a male partner. The probability was hypothesized to increase as the stress of the violence experienced increased. Data were obtained from a national probability sample of 3,665 married or cohabiting women. Subjects responded to the Decision to Seek Help measure, the Conflict Tactics Scale to measure violence by the male partner, and several modifying resources and characteristics. Data analysis revealed no evidence to indicate the presence of learned helplessness among the battered women in the sample. Sixty-eight percent of the women who had experienced severe violence sought help one or more times for personal problems and the predicted probability of seeking help for high levels of severe violence was .77. While age, education, occupation, fear of being hit, having parents who hit each other, and depression were all found to influence the probability of seeking help, the amount of severe violence experienced was the primary factor in the woman's decision to seek help. A stress model of help-seeking was supported by the data. The findings suggest a needed change in the image of the battered woman from weak and passive to active and help-seeking. Appendixes include indexes for help-seeking, severe violence, and depression; provided also are four data tables and eight figures. (Author/NB)

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HELP-SEEKING DECISIONS OF BATTERED WOMEN: A TEST OF LEARNED HELPLESSNESS AND TWO STRESS THEORIES*

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Abstract

A prevailing stereotype of battered women is that they become too passive and helpless to seek help when they need it (learned helplessness). This image, however, has been criticized as failing to represent the majority of battered women. This study tests learned helplessness theory, stress theory and a modified stress theory to determine the best model for predicting the probability that a woman will seek help when she experiences severe violence from a male partner. This probability is hypothesized to increase as the stress of the violence experienced increases, even when a variety of resources and characteristics interact with that violence. Data are from a national probability sample of 3,665 married or co-habiting U.S. women. An analysis of this data found no evidence to indicate the presence of learned helplessness among the battered women in this sample. Sixty-eight percent of the women who had experienced severe violence sought help one or more times for personal problems and the predicted probability of seeking help for high levels of severe violence was .77. While age, education, occupation, fear of being hit, having parents who hit each other and depression were all found to influence the probability of seeking help, the amount of severe violence experienced was the primary factor in the woman's decision to seek help. A stress model of help-seeking is supported. These findings suggest a needed change in the image of the battered woman from "weak" and "passive" to active and help-seeking.

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HELP-SEEKING DECISIONS OF BATTERED WOMEN: A TEST OF LEARNED HELPLESSNESS AND TWO STRESS THEORIES

Do Battered Women Seek Help?

We often take it for granted that we can ask others to help us when we are hurt or in a crisis. Such an expectation appears to be fundamental to any society's attempts at meeting the needs of its members (Gouldner 1960; Blau 1964). Some people, however, do not take advantage of available help even when they are in crisis.

Women who are battered by their male partners are often thought to be part of this group of "silent" sufferers. A popular image of the battered woman describes her as helpless, passive and weak (Pagelow 1981), unable or afraid to reach out for help when she needs it. This image has recently come under attack as potentially damaging to battered women in the courtroom (Browne 1987) and as an unrepresentative and misleading stereotype that overlooks the fact that some women do seek help and "actively fight to remove violence from their lives." (Bowker 1983: 104). This study examines the influence of violence by a male partner against a woman on her decision to seek help, testing several models that predict whether or not victims seek help.

Learned Helplessness and Help-Seeking

There is little in the way of theoretical work that might explain help-seeking behavior by battered women specifically. Learned helplessness theory has provided the most widely used explanation. It has been used to explain women's reactions to violence from a male partner, focusing primarily on why women stay in violent relationships but also on their failure to seek help. This theory, simply described, argues that repeated victimization traumatizes women to such an extent that they become depressed and passive, unable to take action to escape the violent relationship (Walker 1979). Such victims, it is held, suffer from a "retarded initiation of voluntary responses, difficulty in learning that responses produce outcomes...[and a] depressed affect..." (Abramson, Garber and Seligman 1980).

The implications of this theory for the help-seeking by battered women are largely untested. However, a reduced ability to seek help logically follows from the theory. The few studies of the syndrome in battered women have centered largely on women who did seek help by coming to shelters (Walker 1984; Campbell 1987). The findings of these studies are not consistent. While Walker (1984) found evidence of learned helplessness in her sample, Campbell (1987) did not.

Studies of battered women have found generally low rates of help-seeking although again these findings are inconsistent. Walker (1984) and Dobash and Dobash (1979) found that half of their battered women samples sought no help at all, even after severe beatings. Bowker (1983) found that less than half sought help from service providers. However, Giles-Sims (1983) reported that only 3% sought no help at all after the last incident in a series of assaults.

The Walker, Bowker and Giles-Sims studies found that for those women who did seek help, help-seeking increased as the number of incidents increased. These results appear to contradict the prediction that help-seeking is more likely to decrease rather than increase as the victimization is repeated because of the positive relationship between learned helplessness and victimization. Thus, learned helplessness theory has not received unqualified support in these studies.

Stress Models of Help-Seeking

An alternative approach to predicting help-seeking behavior of battered women can be derived from theories of help-seeking originating in studies of physical and mental stress and injury (Pearlin and Schooler 1978; Mechanic 1983). Help-seeking in this context is interpreted as a coping response to symptoms and distress. As discomfort increases, help-seeking is more likely to occur as internal coping mechanisms (Lazarus 1966) fail to stop the pain. Any woman, according to this model, is likely to seek help if the stress is severe enough.

One of the few studies of battered women to take this approach found that severity of violence was the best predictor of the wife's decision to seek any intervention (Gelles 1979). Berk et al. (1984), in a study of domestic violence, however, found that seriousness of injury or incident was not a factor in contacting the police. Other studies report mixed predictions depending on where the woman seeks help (Donato and Bowker 1984).

A Modified Stress Model: Other Factors

An obvious weakness in the simple stress model just described is that it fails to consider the many socioeconomic, social and psychological factors and personal characteristics that have been shown to modify help-seeking responses (Gourash 1978; Veroff, Douvan, and Kulka 1981; Dobash and Dobash 1979; Nadler et al. 1985; DePaulo 1982). At least one study (Shields and Hanneke 1987) suggests that the experience of a woman who has been assaulted by her partner is worse than that of a woman who has had an accident or is assaulted by a stranger. This suggests that the stress she experiences may override the influence of any of these other factors on her decision to seek help. However, this possibility has not been tested.

A Comparison of Three Models

The conflicting results of these studies of battered women's decisions to seek help and the conflicting outcomes predicted by several theories are the impetus behind the present study. Three theories are tested: 1) a learned helplessness model in which the probability of seeking help decreases as violence escalates; 2) a stress model that predicts that the decision to seek help is largely a response to the level of violence experienced - as violence increases, help-seeking increases; and 3) the above stress model with the addition of a other factors that

are believed to modify help-seeking decisions to the extent of reducing or increasing the probability of seeking help depending on the factors involved.

Method

Predicting the Decision to Seek Help

Two hypotheses concerning factors associated with help-seeking will be tested:

Hypothesis 1: The probability that a woman will seek help increases as violence from her male partner increases.

Hypothesis 2: The probability that a woman will seek help increases as violence from her male partner increases and this effect remains unchanged by the material, social, psychological resources and characteristics that she has.

The dependent variable is dichotomous: a woman's decision to seek help or not to seek help. The independent variables consist of those items which might increase or decrease the probability that she will seek help. These include the violence experienced, and a group of variables that indicate the material, social, psychological resources and other personal characteristics that might influence the decision.

Sample

All data for this study came from the 1985 National Family Violence Re-survey (Straus and Gelles 1986). Respondents 18 years of age or older were obtained through a national probability sample of households interviewed by telephone.

The present study examined only data on the 3,665 women respondents in the survey. Women were either married to or cohabiting with men. The mean age of the women was 41 years. Table 1 describes the sample in more detail.

Measures

The Decision to Seek Help. This measure is an additive index of fifteen items that describe specific help sources. These include informal sources, e.g., relatives and friends; human service professionals, e.g., priests and psychologists; social service agencies, e.g., mental health and alcohol treatment services, police and legal services; and women's services, e.g., support groups and shelters (see Appendix A). A respondent is considered to have sought help if she did so from any of these sources one or more times in the past year (1985).[1]

Violence by the Male Partner. The measure of physical violence is the Conflict Tactics Scale (Straus 1979) which has been used in many studies of family violence. The CTS measures the number of times a particular behavior was used in family conflicts over a year's time. By counting the number of times acts of violence occurred, an index of the

amount of violence experienced was created (See Appendix B). Included are the more severe types of violence that can occur; that is, acts most often associated with the term "battering" and more likely to be associated with help-seeking than less injurious acts. The range of scores for the index is 0 to 85 acts of severe violence.

Modifying Resources and Characteristics. Of the large number of variables theorized as affecting help-seeking behavior (Gourash 1978; Veroff, Douvan and Kulka 1981; Dobash and Dobash 1979; Wellman 1979; Walker 1984; Gelles 1979; Nye 1982; Berk et al. 1984), thirteen appear from a review of the literature to be most likely to affect help-seeking: frequency of violence, age, race, number of children, employment, occupation, education, length of residence in and size of community, depression, fear of being hit, whether parents hit one another, and approval of violence (see Wauchope 1987 for detailed rationale).

Only women 18 and over were included and the range in ages was 18 to 87. Race was divided into four groups: white, black, hispanic and other. A woman may fail to seek help because she is concerned for the safety and provision of her children. For this reason, the number of children was included.

Unfortunately only data for the total family income were available rather than the wife's income only. Thus, income was not included as a measure of the woman's material resources. However, data were available on the woman's employment, her occupation, and education level.

Social support or social resources is an important component of any help-seeking model (McKinlay 1973; Veroff, Douvan and Kulka 1981; Moos and Mitchell 1982). While social network data were not available, there are several other measures that can give indirect indications of social support: employment outside the home and length of residence in the community. Because size of the community can influence the amount and type of publicly-financed services that are available to a person (Veroff, Douvan, and Kulka 1981), it is used as a measure of formal social support.

Finally, several measures of psychological resources are included because the presence of certain psychological states or characteristics may influence a person's ability to cope with crisis, particularly incidents of wife abuse in particular (for a review of this literature, see Wauchope 1987). Appendix C describes items that form a depression scale. Another item indicates a woman's fear of being hit if she does something her partner does not like. One item indicates if she has grown up seeing her father hit her mother. Finally, there is an item for the woman's approval or disapproval of violence between partners.

No direct measures of learned helplessness were included in the survey. However, because the presence of depression and the fear of being hit are two of the characteristics of the syndrome (Walker, 1984),, they are used here as indicators of a tendency toward learned helplessness. A negative relationship between these two variables and willingness to seek help can therefore be interpreted as indirect evidence for the presence of learned helplessness.

Data Analysis

The method used to test the study hypotheses is logistic regression.[2] It is an appropriate method for a dependent categorical variable with ordinal and measurement independent variables (Hanushek and Jackson 1977; Aldrich and Nelson 1984). In this study, the probability that a woman will seek help is predicted for the thirteen variables listed above. In addition, variables that have a high probability of predicting help-seeking are graphed (Hamilton 1987) to indicate the range of probabilities that will occur for the range of values in each variable.

Findings

Predictors of Help-Seeking

The probability of a woman seeking help regardless of her experience of battering was analyzed for the effects of the thirteen variables. As Table 2 shows, eight variables were found to be significant ($p < .05$): severe violence, age, education, size of community, occupation, fear of being hit, whether parents hit each other, and the depression scale. A revised model using only these variables is shown in Table 3. With the exceptions of size of community and occupation, the variables are significant with probabilities of less than .001. All the relationships, except with age, are positive.

The Probability of Help-seeking for Severe Violence

Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between help-seeking and the experience of severe violence.[3] Those women who experienced no violence had a probability of approximately .3 of seeking help as compared to .4 for a woman who experienced five incidents of severe violence over the past year. This increase in probability of seeking help continues at higher levels of violence although at frequencies of about 20 incidents of severe violence, the probabilities increase at a slower rate.

For this sample, there is never a 100% probability that a woman will seek help. The highest number of incidents of severe violence produce a probability of .77. By comparison, only 28% of the total sample of women reported actually seeking help one or more times for a personal problem of any kind over the previous year. Almost a third of the women who experienced one or more incidents of violence (5.4% of the total sample) sought no help at all but 68% did seek help one or more times. This is higher than the figures reported by Dobash and Dobash (1979), Bowker (1983) or Walker (1984). However, it is not clear how broadly these studies defined the violence experienced.

A probability of .77 for seeking help is relatively high. Hypothesis 1 is therefore supported: when severe violence from a male partner increases, a woman is more likely to seek help. This suggests that help-seeking is a response to stress. Violence in the home, as an extreme form of stress, appears to be a great motivation to reach out to others to help reduce or eliminate this stress, even if only temporarily.

When incidents of assault and abuse pile up and the stress becomes too much, most women will seek help. For some women, one incident may be all that is required; for others it may take repetition or increased severity of the violence to motivate them to reach out. It is disturbing, however, that it takes over ten episodes of severe assault before the probability of seeking help goes over 50%.

Interactions with Resources and Characteristics

Figures 2 through 8 illustrate the interaction between the number of incidents, or frequency, of severe violence that the women experienced and categories of one other variable, controlling for the remaining resource and background variables in the model.[4] Interaction effects are most evident at low levels of violence. The probabilities of seeking help climb at a much faster rate at low levels (0-10 incidents) of violence for younger women (age 29), women with the most education (college graduate or more) and in white collar occupations, women from cities, women with moderately low fear of being hit, women whose parents hit each other and women with the highest levels of depression.

Correspondingly, the probabilities of seeking help climb at a much more gradual rate at low levels of violence for older women, women with the least amount of education and in blue collar occupations, women from small towns, women with the most fear of being hit, women whose parents did not hit each other and women with the lowest levels of depression.

These findings indicate that some women are slower to choose help-seeking as a response to violence than others. Not surprisingly, the women who have a lower probability of seeking any help also are slower to seek help when severe violence begins to occur or occurs at low levels.

For all of the variables shown in Figures 2 through 8, higher frequencies of violence are associated with increasing probabilities of help-seeking but those probabilities increase at much slower rates, approaching a leveling off at the highest levels of violence. This suggests that the impact that the experience of violence has on a woman's decision to seek help will be most strong when the first episodes occur or when the levels of violence are low. After that, or at higher levels of violence, she is increasingly more likely to seek help but the amount of violence she is experiencing makes much less difference after about 20 incidents over a year's time.

With the exception of the variables measuring fear and depression (discussed below), the tendency toward parallelism shown in these figures illustrates the relatively weak interactions between severe violence and the variables. As violence increases, the probabilities of seeking help increase regardless of the different level or category of each variable.

These findings suggest that Hypothesis 2 is supported: the experience of violence is so powerful that it can overshadow the effects of other factors that, under less stressful conditions, might sway a woman's decision to seek help.

The effects of different categories of resources and characteristics in situations of violence cannot be discounted entirely, however. There

are interactions between violence and these variables, but they are not strong. For example, a woman with less education (Figure 3) is less likely to seek out help at low levels of violence than her counterpart with more education. The likelihood that the woman with less education will seek help also rises less quickly at low levels of violence than the likelihood for the woman with more education. In other words, the woman with less education reacts less quickly to the violence perhaps because she is less aware of community services to help her or because she has not "learned" in school and elsewhere that a man who beats his wife is acting unacceptably.

The influence of these other factors on help-seeking should not be ignored. It illustrates the individual differences in help-seeking that remain in spite of the violence that women experience. In other words, even though the violence may be the driving force behind a woman's seeking help, other factors such as education, age, fear of being hit and feeling depressed will influence the likelihood that she will seek help, although this influence is not nearly as great as help-seeking literature suggests. Knowing this should foster a sense of reality in anyone attempting to provide services to a battered woman. To assume that just because a woman is battered she will seek help is to ignore the complexities of an individual woman's situation.

Fear and Depression

Two variables, fear of being hit and depression (Figures 7 and 8) show stronger interactions with severe violence in comparison to those described above. A pattern of converging lines in Figure 7 suggests that when there is no severe violence, a woman's fear of being hit if she argues with her partner or does something he does not like (which could include seeking help) makes considerable difference in her probability of seeking help. Women with high levels of fear have much higher probabilities of seeking help in this situation than women who have low levels of fear or none at all. However, once severe violence occurs and the incidents occur with increasing frequency, those differences in likelihood of help-seeking decrease. In the face of increasing violence, fearing retribution becomes less influential than the violence itself in its effects on help-seeking although its effect never disappears (the lines never merge into one).

On the other hand, different levels of depression (Figure 8) have less effect on the probability of help-seeking when there is no severe violence than for high levels of violence. This produces a pattern of diverging lines. For no severe violence, the probability of seeking help for women feeling only slightly depressed is close to zero and for the women with the greatest feelings of depression the probability is about .23. But as the violence increases, the spread in help-seeking between these low and high categories increases dramatically, ranging from .2 to approximately .82. This increase in variation occurs primarily because of the low depression category, where violence makes considerably less difference in the probability of help-seeking for all levels of violence.

These stronger interactions between severe violence and fear of retribution and depression are particularly relevant to the learned helplessness question. Neither increased fear nor increased depression

indicate a reduction in the likelihood of seeking help as the theory suggests. On the contrary, the greatest likelihood of help-seeking came from the women with the highest level of fear. Similarly, women who felt the most depressed both started with a higher probability of seeking help and that probability increased at a greater rate for lower levels of violence than it did for women who felt less depressed.

If one assumes, as this study does, a simple model of learned helplessness that describes a negative relationship between violence and help-seeking, then the support for Hypotheses 1 and 2 found in this study indicates that there is no evidence of learned helplessness in this sample. Increased probability of help-seeking was found with increased violence, even when other variables, including fear of being hit and depression symptoms, were included.

An assumption of a negative relationship, however, may be too simple an interpretation of learned helplessness. A better model of learned helplessness theory is described by a second-degree polynomial, with help-seeking rising as violence rises, but declining with very high amounts of violence. This more closely fits the experiences described by Walker's respondents (1984) who actively tried in early stages of the violence to change the situation or their partners, including seeking help, but stopped seeking help when they became frustrated and depressed. This possibility was analyzed using a polynomial variable for severe violence in a logistic regression model. The variable was found to be marginally significant ($p = .033$). However, further analysis using contingency tables found no evidence of decreased help-seeking at high levels of violence.[5]

Summary and Conclusions

This study examined the probability of seeking help of a representative national sample of 3,665 women, focusing particularly on its relationship to women's experiences of severe violence. The most important finding is that no evidence was found to indicate the presence of learned helplessness among the battered women in this sample. Sixty-eight percent of the women who had experienced severe violence sought help one or more times for personal problems and the predicted probability of seeking help for high levels of severe violence was .77. While age, education, occupation, fear of being hit, having parents who hit each other and depression were all found to influence the probability of seeking help, the amount of severe violence experienced was the primary factor in the woman's decision to seek help. The findings tend to support a stress model of help-seeking when severe violence is present.

While the contexts and effects of the help-seeking decisions were not known, this study was able to look at whether or not help was sought. From these decisions, it was found that many women in abusive relationships <u>do</u> seek help and, as their men assault them repeatedly, they are more likely to seek help. This does not support the popular image of the passive, weak woman unwilling to seek help for fear of increasing the violence. In fact, the need to survive comes across powerfully, as none of the other factors change this conclusion.

There are many women who fail to reach out for help. However, to assume that most women in battering relationships are unable or unwilling to get help may be adding to their burden. That assumption can be used to justify service reductions and opportunities to give needed help may be ignored. It may also mean that researchers fail to explore the dynamics of help-seeking by battered women. Such research has great potential to improve our understanding of what services are needed and how they should be delivered.

As researchers and practitioners, we must challenge and study stereotypes such as this one if we are to improve our understanding of the behavior of victims, and aid them more effectively as they cope with violence in their relationships.

NOTES

1. The index does not explicitly ask about help-seeking responses to violence from a partner. However, for those who answered questions relating to violence, the help-seeking is implicitly associated with the violence by its inclusion in the survey and its placement immediately following a series of items concerning violence between partners.

2. Data was analyzed using the statistics/data analysis program STATA, Version 1.5, a Statistics and Data Analysis program produced by The Computing Resource Center, 10801 National Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90064. Graphs were produced using REFLEX The Analyst, a database and graphics program manufactured by Borland International, 4585 Scotts Valley Drive, Scotts Valley, CA 95066.

Continuous variables that were severely skewed, e.g., the frequency of severe violence experienced, the respondent's age and length of time respondent resided in the community, were transformed using natural logarithms.

3. Each figure was produced by allowing the variable for analysis to vary while holding each of the other variables constant at their medians or median category.

4. In general, only categories representing predicted probabilities for relative high, medium and low values (or high and low) are graphed. Continuous variables are illustrated with values representing approximate quartiles (age) or quintiles (depression index).

The vertical relationship of the lines to each other indicates the relationship of the variable to help-seeking. Thus, a line that is lower than another describes a category that has a lower predicted probability of seeking help than the higher line or category. However, the distances between the lines may vary according to the level of violence. The greater the amount of variation in distance between the lines for different levels of violence, the greater the interaction. For example, two parallel lines illustrate no interaction while a horizontal line and a line with a steep slope illustrate strong interaction.

5. Contingency tables were created to show the percentage of respondents who sought help or did not seek help for five levels of depression and five levels of violence (see Table 4). The cells which represent the two highest levels of violence show no noticeable decline in help-seeking with increased depression.

APPENDIX A: HELP-SEEKING INDEX

In the past year, did you seek help for a family or personal problem from any of the following sources? (YES, NO, NOT SURE/REFUSED)

a. Relatives on your side of the family

b. Your partner's relatives

c. Friends and neigbors

d. Minister, priest, rabbi

e. Psychologist or psychiatrist

f. Marriage or family counselor

g. Alcohol and drug abuse treatment services

h. Women's or men's support group or hot line

i. Battered women's shelter

j. Community mental health center

k. Other social service or counseling center

l. Police

m. Doctors, nurses

n. Lawyer, legal aid

o. District attorney

APPENDIX B: SEVERE VIOLENCE INDEX

No matter how well a couple gets along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with the other person or just have spats or fights because they're in a bad mood or tired or for some other reason. They also see many different ways of trying to settle their differences. I'm going to read some things that you and your partner might do when you have an argument. I would like you to tell me how many times in the past 12 months you:

(READ ENTIRE LIST BELOW)

Thinking over the last twelve months you've been together, was there ever an occasion when (your spouse/partner):

a. Kicked, bit or hit you with a fist

b. Hit or tried to hit you with something

c. Beat you up

d. Choked you

e. Threatened you with a knife or gun

f. Used a knife or fired a gun

Each of the above uses one of the following for an answer:

Once	Twice	3-5 Times	6-10 Times	11-20 Times	More Than 20 Times	Don't Know	Never

APPENDIX C: DEPRESSION INDEX

1. In the past year how often have you:

   a. Been bothered by feelings of sadness or depression

   b. Felt very bad or worthless

   c. Have you had times when you couldn't help wondering if anything was worthwhile anymore

   d. Have you felt completely hopeless about everything

   e. Thought about taking your own life

Each of the above is answered with one of the following answers:

Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	Not Sure/ Refused

2. In the past year have you ever actually tried to take your own life? (YES, NO, NOT SURE/REFUSED)

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Table 1. Characteristics of Total Sample (N=3665)

Respondent Characteristic	Category	Percentage of Total Sample
Age	18 - 29	23
	30 - 39	32
	40 - 49	18
	50 - 59	14
	60 - 69	9
	70 +	4
Race	White	66
	Black	16
	Hispanic	14
	Other	4
Education	Grade School	7
	Some High School	13
	High School Grad	41
	Some College	22
	College Grad/Prof	17
Family Income	Under $10,000	17
	$10,000 - $19,999	24
	$20,000 - $29,999	23
	$30,000 - $39,999	16
	$40,000 - $49,999	9
	$50,000 and Over	11
Employment Status	Fulltime	42
	Parttime	13
	Keep House	26
	Other	19
Occupation	Blue Collar	40
	White Collar	60
Number of Children	None	41
	One or more	59
Experience of Severe Violence	None	95
	One or more times	5
Sought Help for Personal Problems	None	72
	One or more times	28

Table 2. Logistic Regression Analysis: A Model of The Probability of Seeking Help for Thirteen Independent Variables (N-2580)

Independent Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t	Prob > t
Severe Violence	.5754976	.1681427	3.423	0.001
Age	-1.538437	.1796414	-8.564	0.000
Race	-.0456484	.0616912	-0.740	0.459
Education	.3309337	.0551004	6.006	0.000
Employment	.0703719	.0449622	1.565	0.118
Years in Community	-.0688893	.050021	-1.377	0.169
Size of Community	.2293735	.066758	3.436	0.001
No. of Children	.055294	.0424253	1.303	0.193
Occupation	.234349	.1130526	2.073	0.038
Fear of Being Hit	.6953113	.1628432	4.270	0.000
Approval of Hitting	.0516781	.1547349	0.334	0.738
Parents Hit Each Other	.5111275	.1394084	3.666	0.000
Depression	1.000772	.0875314	11.433	0.000
constant	2.317117			

Log Likelihood = -1275.6979
Chi2 (13df) = 499.89
Prob > Chi2 = 0.0000

Table 3. Logistic Regression Analysis: A Model of The Probability of Seeking Help for Eight Independent Variables (N=2655)

Independent Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t	Prob > t
Severe Violence	.6110562	.1653722	3.695	0.000
Age	-1.633524	.1556234	-10.497	0.000
Education	.330634	.0526615	6.278	0.000
Size	.2220869	.0644804	3.444	0.001
Occupation	.2190836	.1112613	1.969	0.049
Fear of Being Hit	.6466298	.1446872	4.469	0.000
Parents Hit Each Other	.5330013	.137081	3.888	0.000
Depression	.9764014	.0848993	11.501	0.000
constant	2.68046			

Log Likelihood = -1311.37
Chi2 (8df) = 507.92
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000

Table 4. Number of Times Help Was Sought for a Personal Problem by Five Levels of Depression by Five Levels of Incidence of Severe Violence (Shown as percent of sample that experienced one or more incidents of violence)

		Level of Depression				
Violence Level		1	2	3	4	5
1 Incident	%	42.9	55.6	54.5	84.6	73.3
	N	3	5	6	11	11
2 Incidents	%	00.0	20.0	55.6	66.7	91.7
	N	0	1	5	8	11
3-6 Incidents	%	00.0	40.0	100.0	87.5	77.8
	N	0	2	5	7	7
7-12 Incidents	%	00.0	00.0	100.0	100.0	83.3
	N	0	0	3	2	10
13-85 Incidents	%	00.0	100.0	100.0	66.7	83.3
	N	0	1	2	2	0

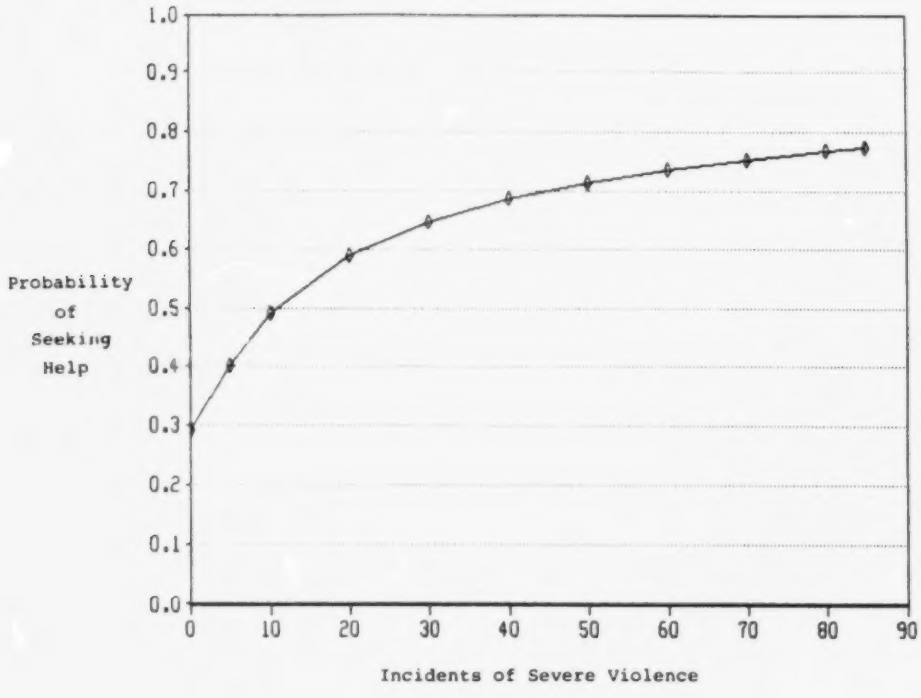

Figure 1. Probability of Seeking Help by Frequency of Severe Violence

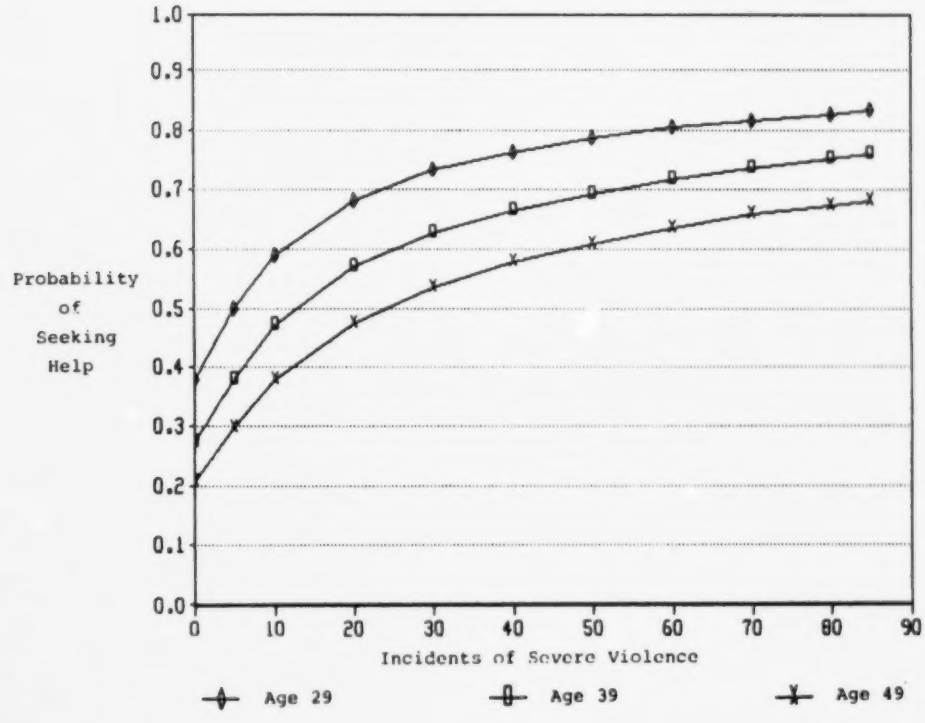

Figure 2. Probability of Seeking Help by Frequency of Severe Violence and Age

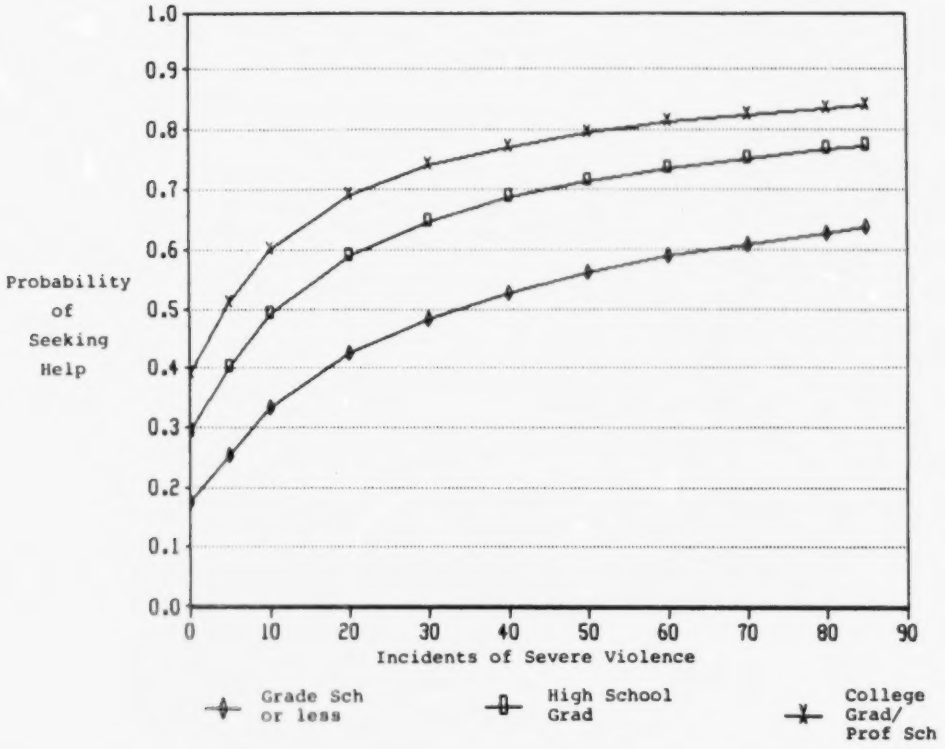

Figure 3. Probability of Seeking Help by Frequency of Severe Violence and Educational Level

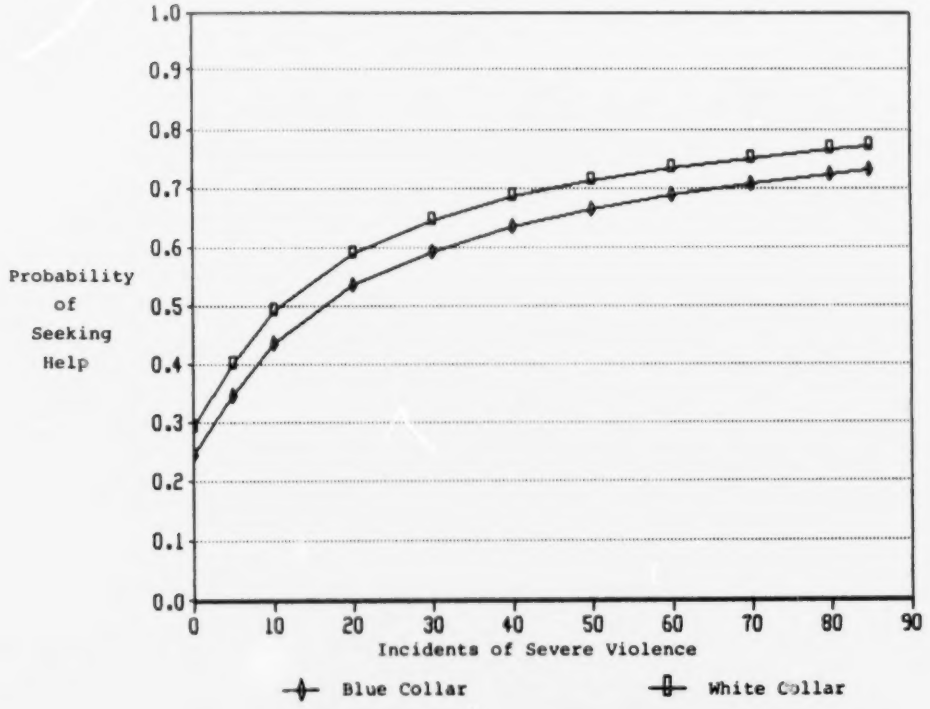

Figure 4. Probability of Seeking Help by Frequency of Severe Violence and Occupational Class

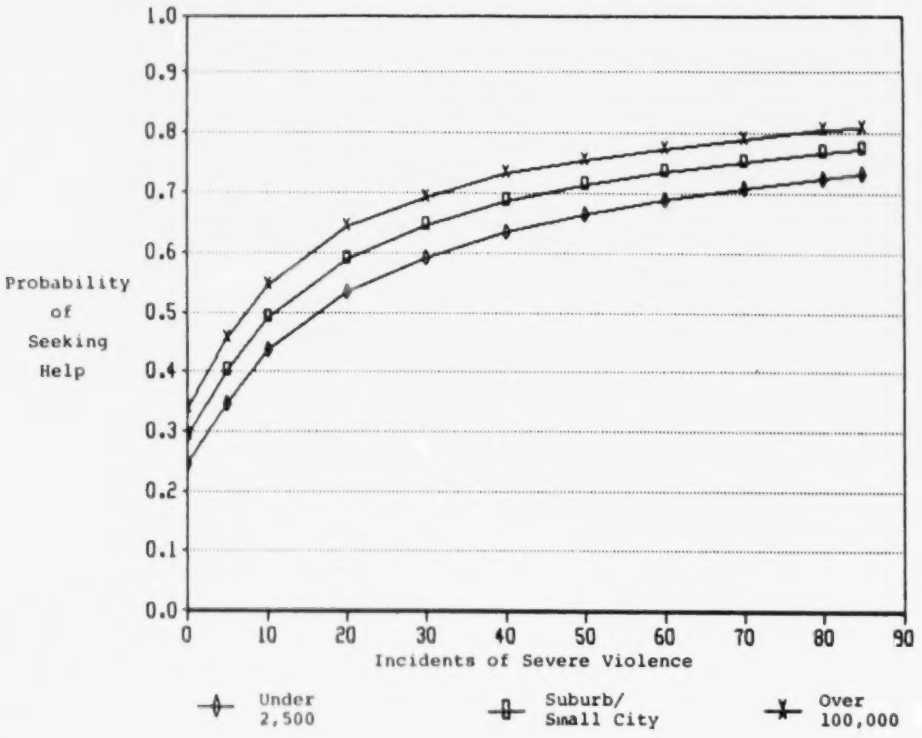

Figure 5. Probability of Seeking Help by Frequency of Severe Violence and Size of Community

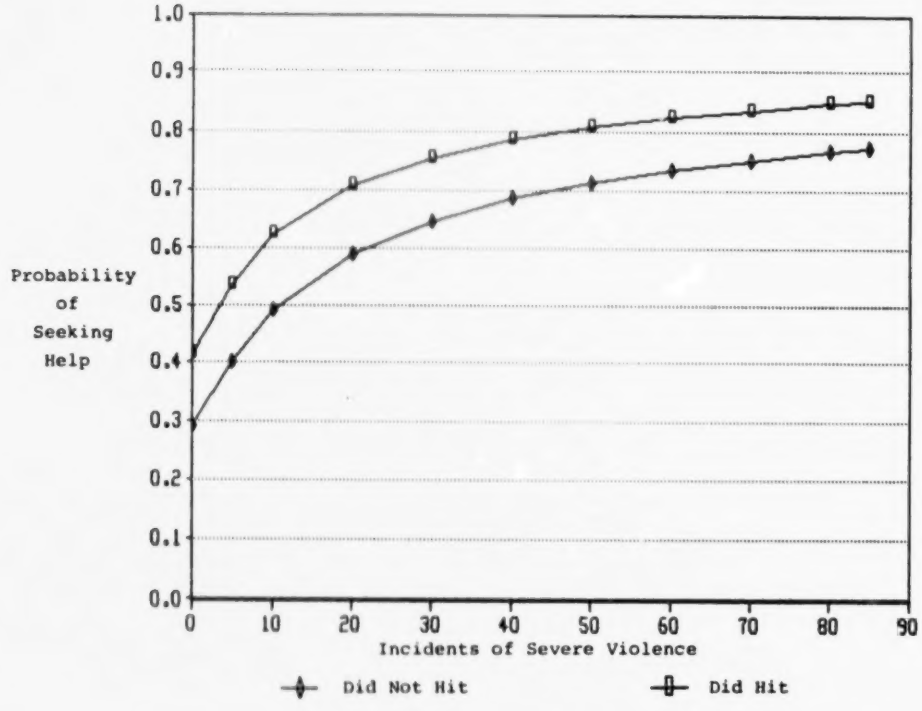

Figure 6. Probability of Seeking Help by Frequency of Severe Violence and Parents' Hitting Each Other

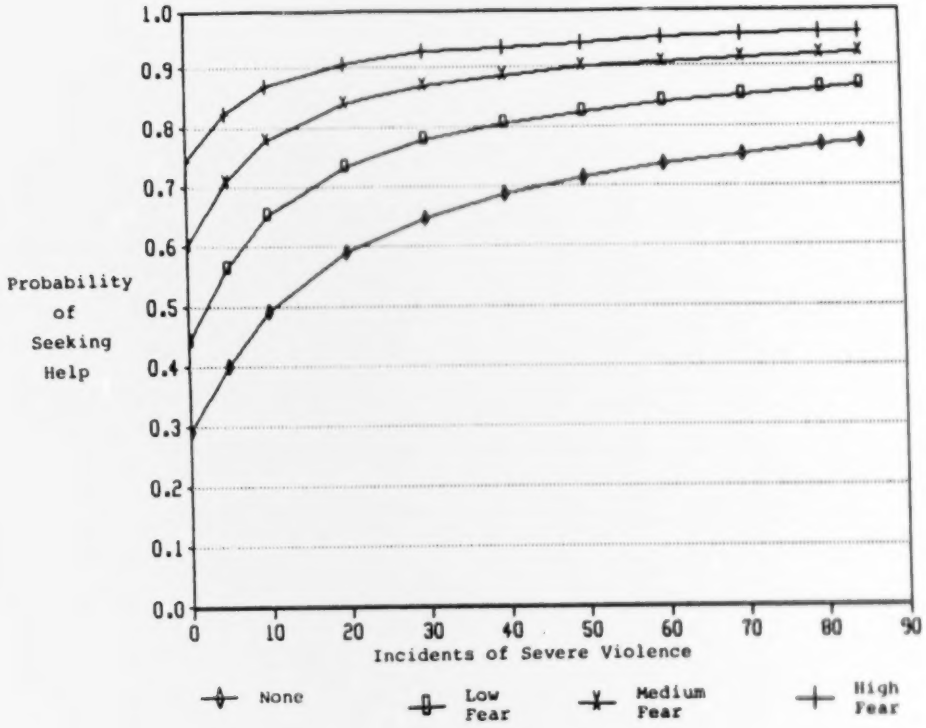

Figure 7. Probability of Seeking Help by Frequency of Severe Violence and Fear of Being Hit

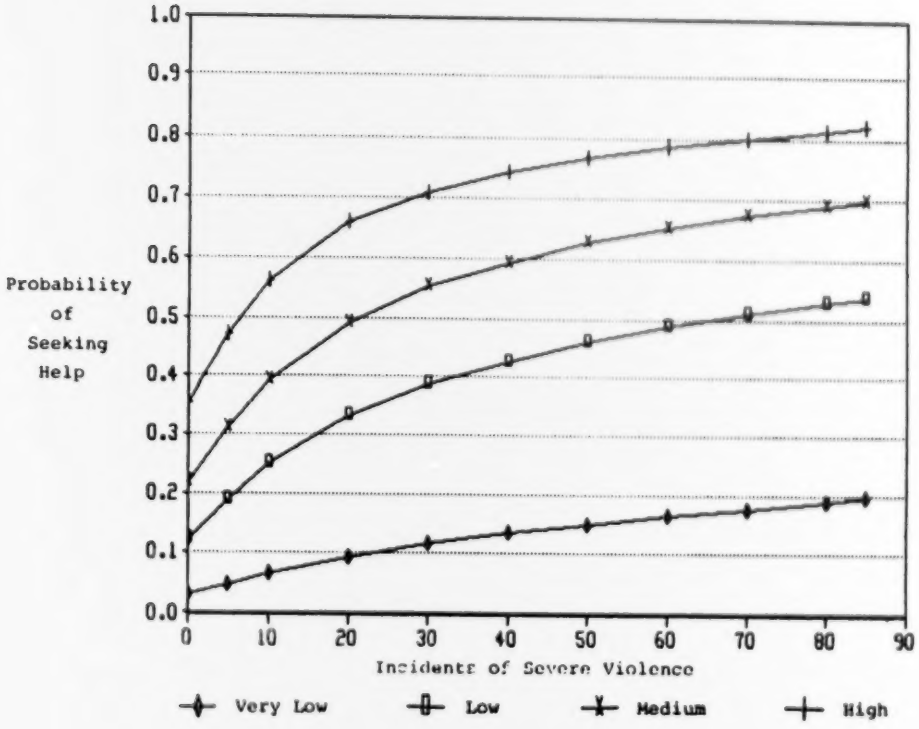

Figure 8. Probability of Seeking Help by Frequency of Severe Violence and Level of Depression